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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-14 EA-12 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-10 L-03 PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 ACDA-12 /129 W

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FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

E.O. 11652:GDS TAGS: PORG, UNSC, RH

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SUBJECT: RHODESIA: SECURITY COUNCIL CONTINUES DEBATE

MARCH 9.

SUMMARY: PATRIOTIC FRONT CO-LEADERS MUGABE AND NKOMO ADDRESSED SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION ON RHODESIA MARCH 9. BOTH CONDEMNED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT FOR FAILING TO EFFECT A GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER. BOTH PROFESSED A

WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE WORKING TOWARD A GENUINE SETTLE-MENT ON THE BASIS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN. BOTH UNDERSCORED THE NECESSITY OF INCLUDING THE FIGHTING FORCES IN ANY SOLUTION. NEITHER HAD ANY KIND THINGS TO SAY ABOUT THE UK. ALSO BEFORE THE COUNCIL, GABON, KUWAIT, INDIA, SUDAN, SIERRA LEONE AND BOTSWANA ALL CALLED FOR COUNCIL REJECTION OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY

- 1. GABON (N'DONG) LED OFF MARCH 9 SC DEGATE ON RHODESIA BY STATING THAT GABON'S POSITION WAS THE SAME AS THAT REACHED BY THE OAU IN TRIPOLI: GABON REJECTS THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND REAFFIRMS ITS SUPPORT EXCLUSIVELY FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. WHILE IT HAS FAULTS, AT LEAST THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN (AAP) LEFT ROOM FOR ALL THE PARTIES. THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IS UNACCEPTABLE AND THE SC SHOULD APPEAL TO ALL STATES NOT TO RECOGNIZE IT
- 2. KUWAIT (BISHARA) DESCRIBED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AS A DESPERATE ATTEMPT BY SMITH TO SECURE LEGITIMACY. IT WAS ONLY "CHAINS OF STEEL WITH WHICH TO FURTHER SHACKLE THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE." IT WAS IMPERATIVE THAT THE SC CONDEMN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. KUWAIT CALLED FOR A CONFERENCE OF ALL THE PARTIES, WITH UN PARTICIPATION, TO PRESS FOR A GENUINE SETTLEMENT. UNCLASSIFIED

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- 3. INDIA (JAIPAL) RECOUNTED THE LEGAL HISTORY OF RHO-DESIA AND NOTED THAT NEITHER UK EFFORTS, NOR ARMED STRUGGLE, NOR SANCTIONS, NOR THE UN AND OAU HAD BEEN ABLE TO BRING SMITH DOWN. IN REACHING THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, SMITH HAD ONLY SUCCEEDED IN PERPETUATING HIS ILLEGAL REGIME. (PRESUMABLY REFERRING TO THE POS-SIBLE APPEARANCE BEFORE THE SC OF BISHOP MUZOREWA) JAIPAL SAID THAT HE DID NOT SEE HOW THE COUNCIL COULD ALLOW ANY-ONE TO APPEAR AT THE UN IN DEFENSE OF THE ILLEGAL REGIME. AN IMPORTANT SEGMENT OF AFRICAN OPINION, LED BY THE PF, HE CONTINUED, HAS RIGHTFULLY DENOUNCED THE INTERNAL SET-TLEMENT. WHAT WAS NEEDED, JAIPLA CONTINUED, WAS A NEW APPROACH, BUILDING ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE AAP. INDIA HOPED THAT THE SC WOULD REJECT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AS ILLEGAL AND LAY DOWN PROCEDURES FOR REVIVAL OF NEGO-TIATIONS. THE UK SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD AND THE UN AND OAU SHOULD BE INCLUDED.
- 4. SUDAN (MEDANI) SAID THAT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT FAILED BECAUSE (A) THERE WAS NO UK PARTICIPATION; (B) IT WOULD NOT END THE WAR; AND (C) IT WOULD NOT SECURE LIFT-

ING OF SANCTIONS. THE AAP REMAINED AN ADEQUATE BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT.

5. SIERRA LEONE (GBUJAMA) SAID THAT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WAS UNACCEPTABLE. IT WAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UK, NOT SMITH, TO HAND OVER POWER. MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE WERE ZIMBABWEAN PATRIOTS, BUT ANY SETTLEMENT MUST INCLUDE THE PF OR IT WOULD NOT STOP THE WAR. WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN RHODESIA COULD HAPPEN IN NAMIBIA. THE COUNCIL MUST NOT RECOGNIZE THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. SIERRA LEONE ALSO CALLED FOR PROSECUTION OF SANCTIONS TO THE FULL EXTENT OF CHAPTER SEVEN AND FOR CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS. SIERRA LEONE SUGGESTED FURTHER: (A) CONCRETE INCENTIVES FOR MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND UNCLASSIFIED

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CHIRAU TO LEAVE SMITH'S PLANS; (B) MAXIMUM EFFORTS TO CREATE A NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK IN WHICH ALL PARTIES

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COULD PARTICIPATE; AND (C) THE USE OF THE GOOD OFFICES OF SYG WALDHEIM. UNCLASSIFIED

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- 6. BOTSWANA (TLOU) CONDEMNED THE RDF RAID INTO BOTSWANA OF FEBRUARY 27. HE SAID THAT THE AAP REMAINED A REASONABLE BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT. EXCLUSION OF THE PF WILL ONLY PLUNGE RHODESIA INTO FURTHER BLOODSHED. THE UK SHOULD ENTER INTO IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS WITH ALL THE PARTIES. BOTSWANA ALSO CALLED FOR AN INTENSIFICATION OF SANCTIONS AND SUPPORT FOR THE PF.
- 7. HIGHLIGHT OF THE MARCH 9 SESSION WAS THE JOINT APPEARANCE BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF PF CO-LEADERS NKOMO AND MUGABE. WALKING TOGETHER TO THEIR SPEAKERS' SEATS IN A DISPLAY OF PF UNITY, MUGABE READ A PREPARED TEXT ON THE PF'S OFFICIAL POSITION. NKOMO FOLLOWED WITH AN EXTEMPORANEOUS "UNDERLINING" OF KEY POINTS. MUGABE'S SPEECH WAS SOLID AND STATESMANLIKE; NKOMO'S LESS SO.
- 8. MUGABE BEGAN BY STATING THAT HE APPEARED BEFORE THE COUNCIL IN A "CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT." THE PF, HE SAID, WAS NOT FIGHTING WHITE PEOPLE BUT A RACIAL SYSTEM THAT WAS A THREAT TO AFRICA AND THE WORLD. THE PF HAD BEEN THROUGH TOO MUCH TO RESPOND EMOTIONALLY. THE POINTS HE WOULD MAKE REPRESENTED A WELL-CONSIDERED POSITION. MUGABE STATED THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT BELIEVES THAT ARMED STRUGGLE IS THE ONLY EFFECTIVE MEANS FOR CHANGE IN RHODESIA, AND THAT THE ARMED STRUGGLE WILL CONTINUE UNTIL TRUE FREEDOM IS ACHIEVED. THE PF HAD NEVER QUESTIONED THE UK'S CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY IN RHODESIA BUT, WHILE THE UK HAS, BEGINNING WITH THE FEARLESS AND TIGER TALKS, SOUGHT TO RETURN RHODESIA TO LEGALITY, THE

PF HAS SOUGHT ITS LIBERATION FROM MINORITY RULE. THE UK WANTED TO MAKE SMITH LEGAL, NOT TO REMOVE HIM. UNCLASSIFIED

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9. THE PF HAD ACCEPTED THE AAP AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIA-TION, MUGABE CONTINUED, WHILE THE SMITH REGIME HAD REJECTED IT. MUGABE SAID THAT THE PF CATEGORICALLY RE-JECTED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, WHICH SMITH HAD CONCLUDED WITH "STOOGES AND TRAITORS." HE SA-D THAT SMITH HAS NEVER CONSIDERED A REAL TURN-OVER OF POWER TO THE BLACK MAJORITY. THE INTERNAL DOCUMENTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT DID NOT ADDRESS THE TRANSFER OF POWER OF THE CENTRAL ELEMENTS OF STATE POWER IN RHODESIA--THE CIVIL SERVICE, THE JUDICIARY, AND THE SECURITY FORCES-ALL OF WHICH WOULD REMAIN IN THE HANDS OF WHITES. MUGABE SAID THAT "ANY SOLUTION BASED ALONG RACIAL LINES IS NO SOLUTION." THE PF WAS FIGHTING FOR A NON-RACIAL SOCIETY. IN CONCLUDING HIS STATEMENT, MUGABE SAID THAT THE SC SHOULD FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THE OAU TRIPOLI CONFERENCE AND CATEGORICALLY REPUDIATE THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE AND JUSTICE. THERE COULD BE NO SETTLEMENT WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE FIGHTING FORCES.

10. NKOMO, IN A STATEMENT DIRECTED AT THE UK, WARNED THAT ONCE SMITH'S NEW GOVERNMENT IS LEGALIZED, SMITH WILL MOVE FAST TO CONSOLIDATE POWER WITH VORSTER, WHO WILL BY THEN HAVE CREATED ANOTHER PUPPET GOVERNMENT IN NAMIBIA. ONCE THIS WAS DONE. SMITH AND SOUTH AFRICA WOULD LAUNCH ATTACKS ON ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA, ANGOLA AND OTHER SURROUNDING COUNTRIES. HE SAID WHEN SMITH BEGINS IN MAKE THIS MOVE, THE UK WILL TURN ITS HEAD, CLAIMING THAT THE AT-TACKS WERE AN INTERNAL AFFAIR OF ZIMBABWE. NKOMO REIN-FORCED MUGABE'S STATEMENTS ON THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE IN-TERNAL SETTLEMENT AND TALKED OF THE SOLIDARITY BETWEEN HIM AND MUGABE IN THE PF. HE CALLED ON THE UK TO BRING ABOUT AN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED SETTLEMENT: THE PF WANTED TO CONTINUE ON FROM MALTA BUT THE PROCESS HAD BEEN STOPPED BY OWEN'S STATEMENTS WELCOMING THE INTERNAL SET-TLEMENT.

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11. IN CONCLUDING THE COUNCIL MEETING, SC PRESIDENT RICHARD (UK) STATED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED A LETTER FROM THE ZAMBIAN MISSION DATED 9 MARCH REQUESTING THE SC TO

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MEET ON THE QUESTION OF THE RECENT RHODESIAN RAIDS INTO ZAMBIA. RICHARD CALLED FOR THE COUNCIL TO MEET IN IN-UNCLASSIFIED

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FORMAL CONSULTATION ON THE ZAMBIAN REQUEST MARCH 10 AT 11:00 AM. THE SC WOULD CONTINUE ITS DELIBERATION OF THE RHODESIAN QUESTION AT 3:30 PM ON 10 MARCH. YOUNG

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Message Attributes

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Disposition History: n/a
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Disposition Remarks:
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Document Unique ID: 00 Drafter: n/a Enclosure: DG ALTERED Executive Order: N/A

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Subject: RHODESIA: SECURITY COUNCIL CONTINUES DEBATE MARCH 9. SUMMARY: PATRIOTIC FRONT CO-LEADERS MUGABE AND NK

TAGS: PORG, PDEV, RH, UNSC

To: STATE Type: TE

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